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JUSTICE • BROTHERHOOD • PEACE

WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE

HORACE HOLLEY, *Editor*

THE aim of WORLD UNITY is to reflect the movement of the spirit of the age.

Under the impact of that movement, the conditions of human life have been transformed throughout the world. Ancient customs and habits of thought, long-established institutions, political and economic doctrines, religious beliefs—all have been subjected to a process of transmutation the final outcome of which is not yet discerned.

But it is now generally recognized that the present generation stands between two worlds—the past, in rapid disintegration, and the future, whose character and form imply at least a world order, a universal civilization, based upon conscious acceptance of the brotherhood of man.

To serve that fundamental moral principle of unity; to uphold the possibility of a new and greater era of human advance; to pass over mere rationalizations of former customs; to quicken the vital powers of faith and to give substance to confident hope—this is the effort of World Unity Magazine, an effort dependent upon the loyal support and goodwill of those who share the same conviction because they also have been touched by *the spirit of the age.*

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WORLD UNITY QUESTIONNAIRE ON PEACE

Comment and Summary

by

Horace Holley

The purpose of the Questionnaire issued by World Unity Foundation in April, 1934, was to determine the degree of agreement existing among leaders of public opinion on fundamental aspects of the question of world peace. In no respect was it intended to take a poll of public opinion in general.

To achieve this strictly limited result, the Questionnaire was sent to a carefully selected list of men and women composed of representative educators, clergy, known peace workers, and delegates to the sessions of the International Chamber of Commerce held at Washington.

In studying the table of replies, the essential purpose of the Questionnaire as well as the nature of the mailing list should be borne in mind. The author of the Questionnaire approached his task from the point of view emanating from the conviction that the status of any major social problem at any given moment is determined more accurately by the amount of agreement among leaders of opinion than by a referendum of the entire adult population.

For those who share this view—which, incidentally, was expressed by the late Senator Beveridge, author of the Life of John Marshall, in his statement that the Federal Constitution was adopted not because it was approved by a majority of the voters but because it had behind it the strongest characters of the time—the World Unity Questionnaire has a significance meriting the most careful consideration.

First to be noted is the fact that the thirty questions involve matters of spiritual as well as political import. The questions, indeed, fall into three groups: those dealing with political realities, those dealing with economic matters, and those which are concerned with matters of faith and conscience.

The final question: If you could write fifty words on the subject of world peace which would be read by every man and woman in the United States, what would your message be? brought forth an extensive response. These messages will be published in full in the August, 1934 number of *World Unity*. In the same issue will be published the list of books supplied in answers to question *number thirty-one*: In your opinion what book written since 1918 most clearly shows the way out from the prevalent international problems?

The greatest degree of agreement, as reference to the accompanying table will show, exists in relation to the following questions: *Number one*—Should the United States join the World Court? *Number two*—Should the United States join the League of Nations? *Number three*—Can the League of Nations in its present form maintain peace? *Number seven*—Is world peace essentially incompatible with your loyalty to your own nation? *Number ten*—If a nation can achieve economic independence, is this an advantage culturally? *Number eleven*—Can world peace be realized in your opinion by a series of national treaties without a League of Nations or other international body? *Number seventeen*—Can any war under existing conditions accomplish any specific and limited result commensurate with its cost in life, wealth and social confusion? *Number twenty-two*—Do you believe that the basis of moral unity exists exclusively within any one of the great historical religions? *Number twenty-six*—Do you accept the view of science that man is descended from an animal forebear?

The greatest divergence of opinion, on the other hand, is expressed in the replies made to the following questions: *Number four*—Do you recommend a strengthening of the League to make participating nations enforce sanctions against offending states? *Number twenty-five*—Do you feel that combativeness is an ineradicable

human instinct? *Number twenty-seven*—With regard to the question of human nature, do you accept science as a higher authority than Jesus or Isaiah? *Number twenty-eight*—Do you believe that the political structure of representative government should be superseded by any form of economic control?

Question *number sixteen*—Do you believe that another war is inevitable? was badly phrased. Had this question substituted the word "probable" for "inevitable" the number of those accepting the probability of another war would have been approximately equal to those who feel that another war can and will be averted.

In comparison to the state of mind existing prior to the European War, the present number of leaders of opinion favoring a World State of federal type, like the American and Swiss federations, is surprisingly great. The trend toward some definite form of world state is undoubtedly due to the preponderance of opinion that the League of Nations cannot, in its present form, maintain peace.

By "present form" a certain number of correspondents undoubtedly meant the League deprived of America, Russia, Germany and Japan as participating states. These believe that the present League, even connected with the Versailles Treaty, can maintain peace provided all the great powers give their cooperation.

Many readers will note with surprise the large percentage of Americans who believe that the political structure of representative government should be superseded by some form of economic control—the Socialist view, or perhaps a combination of the Socialist and Fascist attitudes.

Questions *number fourteen, fifteen* and *twenty-three* are of greatest significance when the replies are brought together. The answers to these three questions indicate that a majority favor the President of the United States calling a general international conference prior to 1935, for consideration of the essential problems of world peace; but that if the national states fail to take the necessary positive measures toward international agreement, the people in all civilized countries should assert themselves in protest against such political inaction.

Does the World Unity Questionnaire point to any one definite view or state of mind in relation to this problem of peace? Can the replies fairly be considered to lead to any one conclusion?

	Yes	No	Unanswered
1. Should the United States join the World Court?	93%	3%	4%
2. Should the United States join the League of Nations?	74%	15%	11%
3. Can the League of Nations in its present form maintain peace?	13%	75%	12%
4. Do you recommend a strengthening of the League to make participating nations enforce sanctions against offending states?	49%	32%	19%
5. Do you recommend a new League divorced from the Versailles Treaty?	62%	28%	10%
6. Do you favor a World State of federal type, like the American and Swiss federations?	59%	28%	13%
7. Is world peace essentially incompatible with your loyalty to your own nation?	2%	91%	7%
8. Can world peace be achieved without one predominant economic system?	62%	23%	15%
9. Do you believe that the United States can so organize its economy as to be self-contained and independent of the rest of the world economically?	25%	74%	1%
10. If a nation can achieve economic independence is this an advantage culturally?	3%	90%	7%
11. Can world peace be realized in your opinion by series of national treaties without a League of Nations or other international body?	5%	89%	6%
12. Is the Briand-Kellogg Pact a possible basis for the development of world peace?	59%	26%	15%
13. Do you recommend the addition of definite sanctions to that Pact?	44%	19%	37%
14. Would you favor the calling by the President of the United States of a general international conference in Washington, prior to the expiration of the naval agreement in 1935 to anticipate the danger of subsequent increased armament?	70%	15%	15%
15. If so, would you favor such a conference proceeding to the larger task of surveying the problem of world peace anew, and reporting specific recommendations for consideration by each participating nation?	71%	11%	18%
16. Do you believe that another war is inevitable?	29%	65%	6%

	Yes	No	Unanswered
17. Can any war under existing conditions accomplish any specific and limited result commensurate with its cost in life, wealth and social confusion?	1%	89%	10%
18a. Do you consider the problem of the oppression of minorities a national and domestic matter requiring strict neutrality on the part of other nations.	13%	67%	20%
b. Or an international problem requiring a higher jurisdiction?	67%	13%	20%
19. Do you feel that people sincerely believing that modern war is social anarchy are justified in refusing to bear arms?	75%	13%	12%
20. Can social justice be established in any nation as long as international tension and uncertainty exists?	24%	61%	15%
21. Do you believe that international peace can be maintained by political and economic measures without the necessity of moral unity?	17%	68%	15%
22. Do you believe that the basis of moral unity exists exclusively within any one of the great historical religions?	11%	81%	8%
23. If the national states fail to take positive measures toward international agreement, would you favor the calling of public meetings in all civilized countries to register firm protest against such political inaction?	82%	13%	5%
24. Do you feel any discrepancy between your status as national citizen and your spiritual status as member of the human family?	26%	63%	11%
25. Do you feel that combativeness is an ineradicable human instinct?	38%	59%	3%
26. Do you accept the view of science that man is descended from an animal forebear?	71%	9%	20%
27. With regard to the question of human nature, do you accept science as a higher authority than Jesus or Isaiah?	29%	39%	32%
28. Do you believe that the political structure of representative government should be superseded by any form of economic control?	27%	41%	32%
29. Do you accept the view that the present apparent weakness of representative government is in reality a moral weakness—the lack of true ethical vision and responsibility on the part of the legislators?	67%	13%	20%

	Yes	No	Unanswered
30. Do you feel that the spirit of democracy can only be fulfilled in a world order representing all nations and races?	62%	18%	20%

The results given in the accompanying table will unquestionably be interpreted differently by different students. The considerations advanced here are therefore expressed as comment, without claim of authority bestowed by the results themselves.

What appears to emerge after serious study of the Questionnaire is a composite picture of a state of public opinion, thoroughly aware of its responsibility, acted upon by new and powerful forces, realizing its transitional character. This opinion is almost completely secularized; it looks to science for its fundamental principles, is nevertheless convinced that world order must possess a moral basis, but finds no one historical religion in exclusive possession of that necessary ingredient. It admits that certain factors in modern life, such as the oppression of minorities and the movements of trade, are international matters which require some jurisdiction higher than that of the present national states. It has no confidence in the binding force of separate treaties. It hopes that a revised League of Nations, plus the Briand-Kellogg Pact, can gradually evolve into an international body adequate to maintain peace and assure orderly progress. It admits the right of the individual conscience, meanwhile, to refuse to bear arms, although it makes a distinction between aggressive and defensive war. It despises politicians, while retaining its faith in the theory of constitutional government. It has begun to wonder, however, whether some form of economic control is not needed to supplement the present political structure. In the more or less remote future it perceives a World State, the first and present first step toward which consists in America joining the World Court. It believes that military sanctions are to be avoided in any international engagement, but is willing to endorse economic sanctions against any state clearly proved to be the aggressor. It admits that no nation can any longer live wholly within and for itself. Finally, it realizes that world peace is a matter of evolution and the world at present is committed less to the attainment of peace than the instigation of war.

ALFRED W. MARTIN

by

GEORGE E. O'DELL
American Ethical Union

ALFRED W. MARTIN, whose passing in October, 1932, was a loss to the movement for World Unity that will long be felt, was remarkable for many characteristics, but more particularly for two. First, he was to an exceptional degree, "all of a piece." Single-mindedness could hardly go further than it did in him; wherever you met him, in his varied activities or in the privacy of his home, or at whatever point you might penetrate his history in order to appraise his career, he was the same man—the same high-souled personality. In fundamental respects he attained an unusual maturity of mind and heart very early in life; not only was he always a great gentleman, an Aristotelian Greek in his mingled dignity, modesty, courtesy, urbanity and moral independence; but his major ideas, which were well ahead of his generation, took shape in young manhood, and the rest of his life was devoted to the advocacy and explication of them. When, for instance, in 1906 he joined the leadership forces of the Ethical Culture Movement, which previously he had for years criticized as lacking the nonsectarian universality he craved, it implied a change only in his knowledge of the Movement. He discovered that away off in far Tacoma and Seattle, where in the early nineties he had founded "Free Churches," he had been making the same stand for religious "freedom and fellowship" unfettered by creed or historical label which was being made by Felix Adler and his associates, and he could properly belong with them, as they with him.

The second characteristic was a life-long habit and purpose of what he called "appreciation"—a word to which more perhaps than any other American of his time he helped to give a place, and

a high one, in the verbal hierarchy of the thinking mind. For the word was dominant. Appreciation was the great instrument, the supreme means towards composing religious, philosophical ethical, and political differences and arriving at syntheses above the dust of battle, milestones on the high road to the finest integrations of thought and social life. There are (as every one knows) two extreme poles among seekers after social justice and political unity; included with those of more mixed approach are the champions of a passionate revolt against wrong and dis-union, and those whose eyes are fixed rather on ends of harmony, cooperation, brotherly love. In short, for instance, there are the haters of war and the lovers of peace; the haters of human exploitation, the lovers fructifying human freedom, security, and joy.

Now, Martin was not an extremist, but his mind was certainly polarized always in the constructive direction. What is *good* in this or that, was always his first and his last question—whatever weighing in balances might occur in between. He never avoided the weighing; he was an indefatigable student and a more intense devotee to truth one could not meet. But in the end it was the spirit of love, of solicitous understanding—no mere toleration, but an active reaching out after an underlying rightness—which most inspired his writings, his discourses, his conversation. Hence, from his earliest service in the Christian ministry his mind brooded over the mingled likenesses and uniquenesses in moral precept common to all ethical religions, and when later he was caught up in a movement towards international peace, he never became a contemner of nations, but on the contrary insisted that national and racial individuality was so precious that it itself—as a subject for reciprocal respect, appreciation, even love—should be a prime reason for peace; and a satisfactory world unity he saw as enhancing rather than lessening the distinctiveness of peoples.

The marked dates and vicissitudes of his life are few. He was born in Cologne, Germany, in 1862—his mother of Teutonic origin, his father an Alsatian. Five years later the whole family migrated to Canada and settled in Montreal, where one of his brothers is today Dean of the Medical School of McGill University. On

both sides young Alfred inherited a tradition of taste for literature and art; his parents, indeed, were cultivated much above the average. Despite their very limited means they gave their children a good education and found for them cultured contacts of the best kind. Alfred was an "all round" student at McGill. After graduation, he entered the Harvard Divinity School both at his own and his parents' instance. The boy had already been much influenced by the Unitarian minister John Cordner, a brother-in-law of Francis Parkman; under the further guidance of his Harvard teachers, but still more because of innate independence, he quickly acquired the scientific attitude towards religion, and developed an inquiring spirit such as later was to take him beyond Unitarianism into the wide search for a more inclusive religion. At Harvard too, under Charles Eliot Norton, he developed a love for art and letters which was to be all through life at once a passion with him and an added means of public educational service.

Doubtless it was his delight at once in religious liberalism and in good English that made him an ardent admirer of James Martineau—with whom he exchanged much correspondence and whom at Martineau's invitation, he visited at his summer home during a first sojourn in England. Samuel Longfellow, who ordained him, was another early and deeply-respected friend.

After ordination, in 1888, he chose from among three calls to Unitarian parishes, one from Chelsea, Massachusetts, where he remained for four years. In the summer of 1892 he was married to Lillie Frothingham, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Frothingham of Boston, and in October of that year, they left for the Pacific Coast, whence a call had come to the minister to take charge of the Unitarian church in Tacoma, Washington. There Alfred and Lillie Martin during fifteen devoted years built up what in the Far West of those days was a new type of "church," and a new type of "Sunday school." To the Tacoma congregation, Martin presently added one in Seattle—preaching in the early years to the first on Sunday mornings and to the second in the evenings, later devoting himself wholly to the Seattle society. In both cities his preaching drew attendances that crowded the available space to the doors. This

young man, of wide scientific and literary reading, of world-embracing religious, ethical and racial insights and sympathies, and of an extraordinarily polished pulpit and platform style, made an impression such that his memory on the Coast is a household word to this day. Indeed, no one could follow him there. When the present writer, in 1915, at Martin's request visited the Seattle and Tacoma congregations, as a possible successor, he found the situation hopeless—only a Martin, could permanently succeed a Martin, and one after another of a line of successors had been and eventually went unavailing away.

In Tacoma and Seattle, Alfred Martin had started what he planned to be a Movement. Anticipating in words the recent action of the Unitarian and Universalist denominations, he had founded "Free Churches." But in intent the freedom which he sought to establish, was to be completely without denominational ties or traditions; and his church services and preaching were to be concerned wholly with the expression of world-wide human ideals and aspirations,—but with an eager respect at once for universal elements in all the great religions and for the ethical emphasis peculiar to each. It is significant that his first publication (several times reprinted) was a brochure entitled *The Symphony of Religions.* Equally significant is it that the last work but one issued by him was *Seven Great Bibles,* the chapters of which originally appeared in the pages of this magazine.* In both he was concerned to *appreciate,* to win more than a grudging recognition of fellowship among all "true believers;" to inspire, indeed, a due humility because of individual ethical insufficiency, and a fine acknowledgment of the complementary qualities of faiths other than any one man's own. Not by going out into the wilderness of refusal, negation, and arid rationalism was the seeker after religious truth to be sustained and eventually rehabilitated, but by adding to a rigid "higher criticism" the will to value all that remains worthy and of good report.

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*"Seven Great Bibles" was in fact written at the request of the Editor of World Unity. It was published serially, beginning with the first number in October, 1927, under the title, "The Wisdom of the Ages." Alfred W. Martin also wrote other articles for World Unity, notably the one on "Religion" (February, 1931) in the series entitled "Elements of a World Culture."—*Editor.*

During his "Free Church" period, Martin and numerous sympathizers issued the *Free Church Record,* a miscellany of high-class articles on liberal religion. But the movement—even though given from time to time the warm approval of the extreme "Left" Unitarians and such forward liberals as Dr. Stephen S. Wise—did not spread. In the end Martin returned East. But he could do it without a sense of failure. Closer acquaintance with the Ethical Societies had convinced him that only their somewhat forbidding label—which signified a determination to escape from creedal tradition and from sentimentality—hid their considerable approximation towards his own ideals. Ethical societies might not (he felt) offer a final form of religious fellowship, but they were the best form suited to our day. By invitation of Dr. Felix Adler he associated himself with the Ethical Movement.

And now, in the larger sphere of New York, Boston and Philadelphia, his greater life work was to be done. The Societies for Ethical Culture, of which he now became a Leader, were but one of several great opportunities for the kind of service to his fellow men which was nearest his heart and in which he excelled. What Martin cared most to do was to help create a certain temper, that attitude of "appreciation" to which we have referred. For twenty years he conducted for the New York Ethical Society a Sunday evening forum, in which he was almost invariably the speaker, and in which the study of the world's religions, of the several books of the Hebrew-Christian Bible, of the lives of the founders and major prophets of religion, and also of the great social reformers, the epoch makers of history, were the regular topics. Certainly to the audiences, often exceeding a thousand persons, to whom Martin expounded what was of permanent moral value in the world's religious and intellectual past, at the same time that he applied the severest standards of modern criticism, he conveyed both education and toleration, and also spiritual quickening. For he was a born preacher as well as teacher. Dr Frank Oliver Hall said of him that he was "the ablest man of his time in the preaching profession in New York." And John Haynes Holmes: "His work as a teacher and preacher is a part of the noblest record of the liberal ministry

of the last generation; more than any other man of our time he led the way in the reconciliation of religious faiths and the true fellowship of man.*"

During this period, Martin also conducted courses for the Women's Conference of the Ethical Society in the appreciation of poetry and art. He was also one of the most frequent lecturers—on Dante, Shakespeare, Browning, Tennyson, and other poets, and on the great works of the Renaissance painters—to the Brooklyn and Columbia Institutes of Science and Art; and in the latter connection he paid many visits to Europe in order to study the masterpieces of painting and sculpture at first hand. For the last sixteen years of his life also he delivered yearly courses under the auspices of the New York League for Political Education. Here he ranged widely from studies of Christian Science, New Thought and Spiritualism (later published in his book, *Psychic Tendencies of Today*) to periodical reëxaminations of international politics and the movement towards disarmament and world peace. In this last respect he found himself in peculiarly close harmony with Felix Adler: both, even during the strain of the World War, urged passionately as a cure for recurrent strife not the elimination of territorial or cultural barriers, but the building up of a genuine internationalism, based on appreciation by every people of the unique contribution to civilization possible to be made by every other people. To the "symphony of religions" he would have added a symphony of nations.

Hence in his active participation in movements specifically directed to the consummation of a strifeless—but not therefore lifeless — world, he never committed himself to negations, to seeing merely what could be done without; brotherly love must be gladly cognizant of brotherly differences, universal peace must grow out of the purposed elicitation of distinctive religious and racial or national gifts, not out of minimizing or ignoring the individuality of groups. He was profoundly an American, but an American to whom a German, a Frenchman, a Japanese, has as such an equally precious possibility of adding some great gift to the high tradition

*In personal letters to Mrs. Martin.

of the world. He did not, like Mr. H. G. Wells, want a world-state in which if you were to meet a Chinaman, only his facial peculiarities would be distinctive; rather his universal comity must be one in which the most Chinese of Chinamen, with his vast background of a specialized culture, yet possessed also of the knowledge and viewpoint of modernity, would have a contribution to make (and to be eagerly acclaimed) for the common good of mankind.

It was inevitable that the Bahá'í religion should appeal strongly to Alfred Martin as demanding the appreciation which it itself accorded noble traditions of conduct wherever found. He compared its followers with the little company of the Mayflower; as that had planted the seed of a democracy which shall sooner or later spread throughout the world, so "the company of Bahá'ís exiled from their Persian home may yet prove to be the small beginning of a world-wide movement, the ideal germ of democracy in religion, the Universal Church of Mankind." When the American Bahá'ís, in 1921, held a convention in Washington to promote unity between the white and colored people, Martin was one of the platform speakers—as he was again at other such Bahá'í meetings for interracial unity throughout America. Between 1925 and 1931 he helped organize World Unity conferences on behalf of international peace held in some thirty cities as an expression of the concern for human brotherhood which is a chief characteristic of the Bahá'í Faith. During a sabbatical year, Martin and Mrs. Martin visited the Bahá'í headquarters at Haifa, where they met Shoghi Effendi, the present leader of the world-wide Bahá'í Movement and were much impressed by him.

Alfred Martin gave leadership, inspiration and personal service to the World Fellowship of Faiths, even several years before its component factors coalesced, as the "Threefold Movement" in 1924. He took part in its first series of demonstrations at churches and synagogues in New York City, and in those held later in Boston, Philadelphia and other cities. His book, *A Fellowship of Faiths,* issued in 1927 under the auspices of Fellowship of Faiths, is a symposium of teachings of all the world's great faiths concerning the central problems of life.

He had attended the first Parliament of Religions, in Chicago. When a second was mooted, to be held again at Chicago in 1933, he gave active encouragement and counsel. As the first project took shape as "The First World Fellowship of Faiths—to Unite the Inspiration of all Faiths upon the Solution of Man's Present Problems," he found the plan more and more germane to his own characteristic outlook on life. Alas, before he could take active personal part in the new parliament's meetings, he was called away. But his address on "The Noble Art of Spiritual Appreciation," many times given and more than once printed (and which gave to the Fellowship of Faiths a name, *Appreciation,* for its quarterly magazine) will be included in the *Proceedings* of the Chicago gathering, which will include addresses and messages from representatives of almost every country, race, and religion in the world.

Alfred Martin's published books and major brochures comprise fifteen titles, and include a *Life of Jesus, The Dawn of Christianity,* the first volume (*Semitic*) of a projected series on the world's religions, *Faith in a Future Life, A Critique of Christian Science, A Philosophy of Life and its Spiritual Values,* and a book of ethical addresses, singularly beautiful in quality, dealing with poignant aspects of the personal life and entitled *Consolations.* To these, since his death, has been added *Great Moral Leaders,* a collection of discourses given before the League for Political Education and elsewhere.

Before the present writer, as he closes this brief and inadequate sketch, is a sheaf of moving eulogiums on its subject's character and career. It is doubtful if many men in recent years have inspired an equal admiration and affection. It is not often that a great gentleman, loved by all and feared by none, moves in our midst. Alfred Martin's nobility and graciousness, his independence coupled with deep capacity for friendship, his absolute love of truth and rigid standards of criticism combined with patient determination to preserve and cherish all precious values, remain as abiding and inspiring memories.

The forty-second article in the series "Apostles of World Unity" begun in October, 1927.

WORLD-CONSCIENCE

AN INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE CREATION OF WORLD PEACE

by

HENDRIK CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN

An appeal to the Government and Press of all countries to consider the advantages of establishing a World Center City of Comunication, organically planned on scientific lines, as a means of preventing war and promoting friendly relations between all countries.

SCHEME FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CITY

IN VIEW of the frequently expressed desire for amity and co-operation between all nations, and the economic depression from which the world is suffering, the present moment seems appropriate for again bringing before the public a scheme for founding an *International City and World Center of Communication,* that is to say, a city belonging to all nations, in which all would meet on neutral ground.

This scheme, conceived by *Hendrik Christian Andersen,* a sculptor born in Norway, has been worked out by him in all its details during the many years in which he studied it in Paris, Washington and Rome, while, for the actual planning of the buildings he had the professional assistance of some forty architects and engineers. It was then published, with illustrations, in a limited *edition de luxe,* and copies of this volume were presented to the Rulers, Parliaments, Universities and leading libraries of the world. In this connection, great assistance was received by the courtesy of the State Department of the United States.

This scheme was personally explained by Mr. Andersen to some of the crowned heads of Europe, including H. M. the King of Italy, H. M. the King of the Belgians and His Holiness Pope Benedict XV, as also to H. E. Benito Mussolini, all of whom expressed their cordial approval. It has been the subject of many

lectures, one of which was delivered by M. Paul Adam, at the Sorbonne, to about 3,000 people, under the patronage of the *Comité France-Amérique.* On this occasion the lecturer was introduced by M. Emile Boutroux.

There is no doubt that one of the most striking characteristics of modern times is the tendency towards *combination* and *centralization.* Small business concerns are gradually becoming absorbed by great enterprises, or forming groups among themselves in order to obtain the strength which springs from union.

This tendency towards cooperation rather than competition is even more evident in its international aspect. Never were there so many international societies as at the present day and, whatever may be their practical utility, they bear irrefutable testimony to the growing desire for worldwide peace and brotherhood. Nationalism is giving place to a higher code: internationalism.

The ideal towards which we are striving is international cooperation. Nations are far from self-sufficing, and they must look beyond the boundaries of the national state if they would reap the full advantage of civilization. Modern invention and science have unified the world, and no country can hold aloof from international cooperation without wasting its energy and squandering its resources.

It is obvious that all forms of cooperation need a center which is in touch with every part of the organization, in order that the whole may work harmoniously and effectively towards its object. Without such a center there can be no cohesion or progress.

The benefit of unity and concord in a nation is so obvious that it would be futile to dwell upon this point. How much greater would be the benefit of unity and concord throughout the world! The difficult problem with which we are faced, therefore, is that of converting this ideal into a practical reality.

The most efficacious and perhaps the only means of ensuring world cooperation in all branches of human activity is the establishment of an *International City* which—materially, intellectually and spiritually—would fulfil the function of a universal clearing-house. Sooner or later it will be recognized that the world needs a city be-

longing to no one nation but to every nation; a city existing by general consent for the welfare of mankind at large and, above all, entirely beyond the sphere of political interests.

Such a city, the architectural and organic plans of which are already in existence, would be of incalculable benefit in promoting a spirit of mutual friendship and appreciation between the various races of the earth. Each of these races is capable of making its own unique contribution to the sum of human endeavor, and the necessary interchange of thought and experience could be effected far more readily than at present through the medium of an International City which would serve, not only as a meeting-place for prominent men of all nations, but also as a center towards which the finest productions of the human mind would gravitate for diffusion throughout the world.

In this limited space no attempt can be made to describe in detail the enormous advantages which would result from the establishment of an International City. Only the most important points are touched upon in the following outline.

Every Nation Represented on Equal Terms

The International City offers a definite advantage to each individual nation, since each would have its own buildings, administrative quarters and permanent representatives. Hence its products, whether industrial, scientific or artistic could be presented to the world at large in the particular manner most suitable from the producers' point of view; and in placing them on the market of the International City, the producers would be placing them on all the markets of the world. All countries, whether great or small, would have equal opportunities in this respect, and no product would be unsuitable for presentation at the International City, provided it was of interest to any country in the world.

Each country might advantageously devote a certain part of its building in the International City to the exhibition of its geographical, mineralogical, and agricultural charts, showing the rock strata, typography and mineral deposits, as also the areas suitable for the different crops, tracts of land still uncultivated, and many

details of the same nature. By this means the comparative study of the characteristic features of all countries could be made with the utmost facility.

International Court of Justice

Under present conditions it is certain that the nations will not —and indeed cannot—dispense with armed forces until their rights are protected by a more satisfactory method than that of massacre. The mere existence of an International City—a City of Peace—would in itself do much to prevent the misunderstandings which may lead to war. Moreover, as it gradually becomes evident that cooperation makes for progress and prosperity, while war brings only misery and ruin in its train, both for victors and vanquished, each succeeding generation will be more deeply imbued with the conviction that war is a species of national madness.

Apart, however, from this gradual change of opinion, the most effective means of preventing war would be found in the International Court of Justice as established in the International City, and presided over by the highest legal representatives of all nations. This Tribunal would be invested with authority to settle all international disputes, its decisions being enforced, if necessary, by an international army which—there is every reason to hope—would be the only armed force in the world, supported and respected by all civilized countries, instead of being under the political control of a few nations.

In connection with the proposal for an International Tribunal for the settlement of international disputes, the League of Nations naturally occurs to the mind. The League, in spite of its excellent object, was perhaps foredoomed to failure owing to the fact that it is in reality fragmentary. In other words, it functions as an isolated organization rather than as part of a great universal system. It may be compared with a single part of a complicated machine which, however perfect in itself, can fulfil no useful function until all the parts are assembled and it takes its proper place in the mechanism of the finished product, working in harmony with the rest.

Inventions and Discoveries

The progress of mankind is hampered by the lack of a properly organized system for the examination and handling of new inventions and discoveries especially those of a scientific nature. By "handling" is understood the giving of suitable publicity to those selected, in the manner which appears to be best adapted for the purpose. An enormous amount of information in all fields of activity is either entirely lost or restricted to certain areas, while in many cases the value of an invention or discovery is often realized so slowly that much time is lost before the world reaps the full benefit of it. In an International City a department might well be established to which all inventions and discoveries could be submitted for examination and, in special cases, for publicity.

Science

A common center for all branches of theoretical and applied science would undoubtedly be of the utmost value, since it implies the coordination of all scientific work throughout the world and, consequently, an enormous reduction in the expenditure necessary for such work. The union of many international services under one international bureau would more or less put an end to overlapping and the waste of time and energy which it implies. Although congresses would naturally be held in any city which might be considered suitable, the records of proceedings, as of all notable scientific work throughout the world, would be collected in the International City. Thus an immense amount of interesting and valuable information would be available.

An "International Building for Medical Research" would meet one of the most urgent needs of humanity. Combined action directed from a common center would be far more effective in combating disease than any efforts that can be made in present conditions, since scientists of all nations would work on lines laid down by general agreement, their efforts being directed towards the various objects forming part of the main program.

International Exhibitions

The beneficial effects of international exhibitions in stimulating trade, industry, and indeed all branches of activity, are undisputed. At present, however, they can only be held at comparatively long intervals and, even then, are not equally representative of all nations, owing to private and political considerations.

In the International City a building would be set apart for such exhibitions, which would be held as often as might be advisable, all countries having the right to contribute. Thus the latest developments in all branches of activity would be presented to the world with far greater facility than at present, and these exhibitions would have immense influence. Manufacturers would be enabled to enlarge their markets without having recourse to the system of establishing branches in one country after another, since all countries would be in touch with the common center.

Agriculturists could at any time examine the latest improvements in farm machinery, as also illustrations of the farming methods of other countries. All forms of activity would be stimulated, and these exhibitions would prove a constant incentive to individual and national progress.

Travelling exhibitions might also be organized, in order that specimens of the world's latest productions and achievements might be brought to the very doors of those who cannot visit the International City. Such exhibitions could be sent to any country, either at the request of some particular town or as part of the scheme for the general diffusion of information which would be one of the most important functions of the World Center.

Statistical Data

It is to the interest of all nations that each should be aware of the conditions prevailing in other countries. Only by this means can they know what help each can render, or obtain from the others. In the International City a mass of statistical and other data would be received from every country in the world regarding population, productions, trade, unemployment, etc., which, carefully document-

ed, would be of the utmost value in supplying any information desired regarding the general conditions of any given country.

Regulation of Production

By means of the data referred to in the preceding paragraph, and for other reasons, production could be regulated from International City to an extent that is now impossible. Records of world markets would then be available showing the reserve stocks on hand, the supplies actually on the market, and the increase or decrease in the demand for commodities of every description. It would thus be possible to estimate with some degree of accuracy the supplies which could advantageously be put on the market each season, and so avoid the periodical trade crises which, in most cases, are closely connected with over-production.

This system would be of special benefit to agriculture. In certain countries, farmers and dealers already decide by mutual agreement the areas to be sown to the respective crops. This method, extended throughout the world, would practically put an end to the stupendous waste involved in the over-production of foodstuffs.

The distribution of products, which is one of the vital problems of the present day, could be dealt with in an international bureau more satisfactorily than under the present system, by which each country deals with the question more or less independently.

Utilization and Protection of Labor

By means of a Central Labor Bureau the International City would provide a world clearing-house for labor. Here would be collected general labor statistics showing the total number of unemployed persons in every region, and in every branch of industry, together with detailed information regarding regions capable of absorbing labor, such as the uncultivated areas which still exist in various parts of the world. By this means the general movements of the surplus supply of labor would be diverted from over-crowded countries to others where the demand is greater, and new cities could be founded in regions hitherto uninhabited.

The International City would also provide facilities for the study and development of methods for improving the condition of

the laboring classes and safeguarding their interests. The measures taken in the different countries for this purpose, with their results, would be recorded and, by the comparative study of such records, much useful information could be gathered and fruitless effort avoided.

The financial difficulties caused by the present system of international currencies prove the need of an international money standard. By this means trade and industry throughout the world would be stimulated, while at the same time travellers would be spared the loss and annoyance caused by the varying rates of exchange.

It is reasonable to assume that some international agreement on this subject must be reached sooner or later. An International Bank or Clearing-house supported by international shareholders and depositors, for the purpose of regulating and handling the international currency, will then be inevitable although it is impossible to foresee exactly what form such an institution would take. A building has therefore been planned in the International City with the conviction that, through international cooperation, the ways and means of establishing an appropriate system of currency will readily be found, thereby facilitating commercial relations and strengthening the bonds of peace and friendship between all nations of the earth.

In the plans for an International City drawn up by Hendrik Christian Andersen and his collaborators nothing has been omitted. The large central *Place de Congrès* contains a building for the study of theoretical science, an International Bank, a Sociological Institute, buildings devoted respectively to Law and Criminology, Medicine and Surgery, an International Reference Library and, finally, a Temple of Religion, where the spiritual thought of past and present would be recorded, and the spiritual leaders of the age would give expression to the seeking of the soul after God, aiding men to link mortality with immortality.

Dominating the *Place de Congrès* is the seventy-story Tower of Progress, where meetings of the most important international associations would be held. This building would be equipped with a powerful wireless apparatus and a large printing press so that

all news of universal interest could be diffused almost instantaneously throughout the world, and press representatives would be able to report without delay the discourses pronounced in the International City.

Between the *Place de Congrès* and the Harbor stretches the *Avenue des Nations,* in which each nation has its own separate building. These national buildings are of special interest since they afford every country the means of bringing before the world its special industries, agricultural and mineral products, and also the national achievements in science and art. These would be presented, not—as in international exhibitions of the present day—in an alien country and under restrictions due to political considerations and private hostility, but entirely at the discretion of the persons most interested in opening up new markets for their commodities. Thus products of all descriptions, whether agricultural, industrial or intellectual—anything, in fact, advantageous to the progress of the human race in any part of the world—would assuredly find the market for which they were adapted. This consideration is of the utmost importance for all countries and is, indeed, one of the main reasons for the foundation of a World Center City of Communication. Only such a city, free from all political control, would offer equal opportunities to all nations and render speculation on a vast scale practically impossible.

In these national buildings would reside the delegates of the various countries—those chosen by the people as their representatives and entrusted with the duty of protecting their interests and extending their commerce.

The spacious gardens surrounding these national buildings would be ornamented by statues of the great men of the various nations, their heroes and patriots, their leaders in science, art, literature and philosophy: all who, by their genius or self-sacrifice, had contributed towards the national welfare and prosperity.

Beyond these gardens are large spaces of land on which would be erected international colleges where students of all nations could carry on their various studies.

The Avenue des Nations ends in a large piazza, in the center

of which is the Fountain of Life—a large fountain surrounded by statuary representing the different phases of man's life. One of the most prominent buildings in this piazza would be the Temple of Art, flanked on one side by the Conservatoire of Music and Drama and on the other by the school of Fine Arts, while behind it lies the Grand Canal, a fine stretch of water between the Zoological Gardens and the Natural History Museum. A stadium for physical culture complete the *ensemble* of the city upon the sea.

From the centre of the city radiate avenues leading to the business, residential and industrial quarters. These are partly encircled by a U-shaped canal deep enough to admit of ships.

The site of an International City would naturally be a matter for international discussion. In this connection, however, it may be mentioned that His Excellency Benito Mussolini, who expressed the warmest approval of the scheme as personally explained to him by its originator, offered to present to the nations an appropriate site, should the project receive general support. The land so generously offered by the Duce consists of the beautiful tract of country extending from the ancient port of Ostia to Fregene, some fifteen miles from Rome. The fact that the scheme is approved by so advanced a thinker and statesman as the great Fascist leader should be a weighty argument in its favor.

The above outline of the scheme will give a general idea of its twofold aspect—material and spiritual.

World cooperation and friendship will undoubtedly in due time take the place of rivalry and antagonism, but it must rest on the sure foundation of love, not on the shiftings and of expediency. One of the City's most important functions, therefore, should be the encouragement of all that makes for the physical, moral and intellectual progress of mankind. Art, science, literature, and indeed all branches of education, should be fostered and stimulated, since only by this means, can the Brotherhood of Man become a practical reality, leading to world cooperation and union, and welding all nations into the one great family of Humanity.

THE PLAN FOR A WORLD CENTER

by

DAVID STARR JORDAN

(Written in 1920)

IN THE confusion and rivalry of the Balance of Power, which led quite naturally to the present chaos, there rose the hope that civilization might cooperate through the establishment of a world capital, ideal in all its appointments, and owned by all nations alike, even as the District of Columbia is the equal property of all the American States.

This conception has been the life work of an indomitable idealist—Hendrik Christian Andersen, an American artist of Norwegian descent, long resident in Rome. His plan of a world-center was first set forth in 1913, in a sumptuous and finely illustrated volume, in which all the details, artistic and architectural, are presented in full detail. The idea of cooperation through art is the prime motive of this volume. The author has accomplished his work in full faith of its ultimate success, and with no thought of personal reward. "The prize has been the effort itself—the compensation the fruits picked up on the way." In fact, he has invested in his ideal practically all of an ample fortune.

As to where this ideal capital should be placed, Mr. Anderson has expressed no choice. In a small nation the risk of jealousies would perhaps be least. It might be set in the suburb of a great city, or in some picturesque site in the mountains or by the sea. Among the chief locations suggested are these: Neufchatel (in Switzerland), Macarese (on the sea near Rome), some Isle of Greece, Frejus (in Southern France), The Hague, Tervueren (near Brussels), San Stefano (near Constantinople), Montmorency (near Paris), or Atlantic City, New Jersey.

But this choice, the author of the plan would leave to the "World Conscience," sure to rise as the plan progresses. To unite in a great work is to guarantee the soundness of its details.

In a subsequent memoir, entitled "World Conscience," Mr. Andersen recapitulates the arguments of the creation of a "World Center of Communication" as presented by him to statesmen of various countries. This is a most eloquent appeal for internationalism in thought and sympathy. "No boundaries can hinder the expansion of the human mind. No law can prevent the human intellect from developing and today all centers of the inhabitated world come within easy reach. . . . If such a world center . . . . were to be built by universal sanction, it is almost safe to say that armaments would be reduced a thousand-fold and that the ever dreaded war questions would in the end become things of the past."

A second noble folio, entitled "Creation of a World Center of Communication" has just been issued by Mr. Andersen and his sister-in-law, Mrs. Olivia Cushing Andersen. This contains three principal memoirs, the first, of "The Legal Part," by Dr. Umano of Rome, a distinguished jurist; the second, or "Economic Part," by Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks of New York; and the third, or "Architectural Part" by Ernest M. Hebrard, Government Architect of France, and his brother, Jean Hebrard, late Professor of Architecture in Cornell University.

The article by Dr. Umano, directed especially to Americans, is a lofty appeal for a "positive science of government," one resting on lasting principles and not on hand-to-mouth struggles of clashing interests. "This, while it is really a great and worthy exit from the war, is at the same time an open road toward humanity's true progress."

He appeals thus to citizens of our Republic: "Fulfil your task, O Americans, in a *positive way,* so that the present calamity can never be repeated and that peace may be insured by the only real guaranty, that of constitutional law."

A BIOLOGICAL ATTITUDE TOWARD HUMAN AFFAIRS

by

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ONE familiar with the history of civilization can readily observe a slow and sometimes painful change from a non-scientific to a scientific attitude towards individual or group behavior. Man finally ceases to stand by himself as a darling of the gods and is expected to be intrinsically subjected to the same kind of natural laws as a blade of grass or a pack of wolves. When the American Association for the Advancement of Science was formed, in 1848, its scope of activities comprised only exact and "extra-human" sciences: mathematics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, geology, geography, zoology, and botany. One by one the following sections have been included: anthropology, psychology, social and economic sciences, history, philology, and education. All these comparatively recent additions have one feature in common, namely, they have as their subject man and groups of human being, as distinct from the earlier sciences which essentially investigate nature (excluding man). In other words, we perceive here a gradual recognition of the fact that the method of impartial and accurate observation and of deduction therefrom is applicable to a study of all aspects of humanity.

Primitive man is no longer the ideal creature of the sentimentalists or the wild beast of the greedy and ignorant adventurers. In learned books, no longer is an individual's behavior described in terms of his "soul" and its "virtues and sins." Nor are great migrations of peoples ascribed to an inexplicable rise of remarkable leaders and organizers. Even the question of economic expansion of large nations is not dismissed merely with the terms "capitalistic greed" or "lust for power." On the surface the new biological point of view may seem like a soulless attitude toward and a

mechanistic interpretation of our throbbing lives; yet behind it there is that courageous approach to truth which was promised ultimately to make us free, as well as a broader sympathy toward human sufferings and struggles.

Other hitherto purely "humanistic" and "inspirational" groups of workers—even musicians, painters, and poets—will undoubtedly climb one by one on the Association's laboratory wagon. However, the step which I am eagerly wishing for is that groups of men and women who have to do with immediate, practical affairs of humanity (as distinct from purely scientific pursuits) should also join some scientific association, or at least adopt a scientific attitude in their fields. We have peace societies, non-resistors' leagues, bigger-navy associations, patriotic societies, protective tariff and penny postage circles, foreign missions, keep-the-nigger-down clans, etc., not to mention political parties, legislative branches of our federal and state governments, and numerous trade and professional associations. All these groups constantly endeavor to guide, to encourage, or to impede our actions, to influence our attitudes, and to establish standards and laws favoring their particular points of view. But how many of these organizations would be willing to surrender their preconceived ideas and their narrow anthropocentric views for an impartial program of observation, experimentation, reliance on general laws of nature, and a humble acceptance of results?

Yet, the next real and lasting step toward economic welfare and international goodwill can only come through abandonment of terms such as "bloated bondholders," "crafty Japan," "valuable South-American markets," and substitution therefor of concepts based upon "science of man," be it anthropology, philosophy of history, or theory of group action. Such a scientific point of view will be referred to in this article as the biological attitude toward human affairs, and the author's plea will be for the widest possible use of this principle in the solution of practical human problems.

There was a time when a wide gap existed between the practice of medicine and the sciences upon which it should be based, to wit, anatomy, physiology, and chemistry. Alas, the gap is still far from

being closed; nevertheless, the recognition of this relationship is now general. For example, the American Association for the Advancement of Science can boast of at least three sections named after practical sciences, viz.: Medicine, Agriculture, and Engineering. Is it an idle dream to expect that before long the Association may also point with pride to its new sections of International Conciliation, Science of Religion, Racial Co-Habitation, National and State Legislation, and Prices and Wages? By this I mean that practical men and women who actually guide the affairs of the nation should look upon their everyday problems from the biological point of view and apply their findings in speeches, writings, bills introduced into legislatures, executive rulings, and, last but not least, in their own sincere and profound attitude toward human motives and actions.

It would be unscientific and illogical to believe that groups of civilized humans must necessarily war with each other (or prepare for war), just because the struggle for existence is a natural condition. This would be not unlike the assertion that grown-ups must amuse themselves with toys because children do so. On the other hand, it would be equally illogical to assert that humanity can and must stop all wars immediately because all men are brothers and children of the same God, and because all wars are futile anyway. This would be taking, for a guiding principle, an ideal which is not very clear in its practical aspects even among the chosen few, not to speak of countless millions who essentially live by their primitive emotions. In other words, plants, animals, children, and primitive races should be diligently studied for comparative purposes and for a deduction of general laws; but the actual life of civilized peoples, including individuals, small groups, large groups, and nations should also be thoroughly and impartially analyzed from the biological standpoint, just as objectively as a visitor from Mars would analyze them.

The problem of behavior, or even of a normal response to elementary external stimuli, is quite a recent branch of science; very little is known with certainty even in reference to animal behavior, not to speak of complex civilized man or a large group of

men actuated by mob psychology. First of all, a general recognition of the scientific principle in human behavior is needed, to replace such childish concepts as are current at present. Then, in time laws of behavior will be formulated, leading to practical predictions and to an avoidance of sordid and tragic wars and racial conflicts.

A universal law which is quite helpful in guiding and interpreting human affairs is *the law of dynamic equilibrium,* perhaps first formulated by the present writer on the pages of *World Unity* (Vol. I, p. 306, 1928). *An equilibrium which exists under normal conditions among two or more groups of human beings, is never static* (*friendly*) *but always dynamic* (*implying a conflict*); that is, an equilibrium exists only because two or more hostile tendencies happen to be temporarily balanced. For example, in a parliament, there are usually two conflicting tendencies on any important question, tendencies which do not always follow the official party lines. Because of the fine balance of power, in which public opinion of the country is also a factor, an extremely radical or an ultra-conservative measure very seldom has a chance to be passed. Ordinarily each bill, in its final adopted form, is the result of many compromises to make it acceptable to a majority. This balance is extremely dynamic and unstable, involving constant struggle, steering, agitation, and give-and-take. Similarly, in a particular trade, competition leads to an equilibrium among several rival products, one of which may be the most durable, another the most convenient, and a third may be sold at the lowest price. Yet an equilibrium of this kind usually can be maintained only by strenuous and sustained effort of the companies concerned, to keep their position in the field, if not to get ahead of their competitors.

One may readily observe such a tendency toward a dynamic equilibrium in almost every phase of life. For example, in a family there may be extreme tendencies among the members toward extravagance and penury, gay life and domesticity, aggressiveness and reticence. As long as the family remains a unit, there is a constant struggle, perhaps friendly, and a dynamic equilibrium is kept up so that the extreme manifestations of the individual wills and

temperaments are held in check. In a local or national association devoted to any purpose whatsoever there are always factions calling each other names, and in reality representing those inescapable extreme tendencies, a balance of which gives the organization its true life. One can readily observe such opposite forces even within oneself, such as a conflict between social and anti-social tendencies, self-indulgence and asceticism, sense of duty and laziness. A cemetery seems to be the only place where the equilibrium is truly static and stable.

An important warning which the law of dynamic equilibrium sounds is that *small causes may lead to big results.* To illustrate, consider a strong-willed man actuated by base and lofty impulses. Let us say, the pressure of sin upon his behavior is 100 units (whatever these units may be), and the opposite call from heaven is also 100 units. If the latter can be increased, say, to 101 units, the sin is conquered and the man slowly and painfully, but steadily, pushes toward a more social behavior. Yet his margin is very small. A little lapse of vigilance, and the strength to overcome temptation may drop to 99 units. Then a slow march in the opposite direction begins, and the perplexed reformers are at a loss to understand what happened to a thoroughly good man, perhaps a pillar of the church. In a similar manner, a slight improvement in the manufacture of an article, somewhat smaller distribution costs, or even a bit of clever publicity, may upset the equilibrium in the trade, and start some inefficient companies irresistibly down hill. The figures 100 vs. 99 ought to be a good motto and a warning to any one person or group of persons whose existence or welfare depends upon a delicate adjustment under the law of dynamic equilibrium.

As a rule, an abstract law of nature is simple *per se,* but the combined action of many laws may be complex. Individual influences upon a plant in a botanical laboratory may be controlled at will, but in its natural habitat the same plant survives under a complicated aggregate of factors such as sunshine, temperature, moisture, soil, adjacent plants, and enemy insects. Similarly, in one country, the combined silk manufacturers, considered as a group, survive because the final resultant of all adverse and favorable

forces is not greater than their strength of resistance. Of course, there may be certain factors which acting alone would carry these manufacturers rapidly to the pinnacle of prosperity, and there may be other factors which acting alone would quickly ruin them. Thus, the law of dynamic equilibrium is much more complex in specific applications than as a general proposition.

In the light of the law of dynamic equilibrium I shall consider here two vital practical problems, namely, international wars and the Jewish race.

(To be continued)

THE SOCIAL IDEAL OF OUR AGE

by

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EVERY age has had its dominant ideal. In every age there has appeared a controlling concept, a root idea from which all preaching and exhorting has sprung. In looking back over the history of social and religious thought, one gets the impression that ideas have moved in thought-cycles. Within each cycle, clusters of ideas and sentiments seem to have been grouped about some central concept. These ideas were the elaborations of the implications of that one potent insight. The sentiments were the emotional colorings and reactions which these implications stirred up. Thus every age has had its own peculiar vocabulary, expressive of the insights and reactions which issued from the controlling concept of that period.

Now the affirmations, or better, the affirmative theme that became articulate as the practical counterpart of the controlling concept was the motivating ideal of the age. It was the spiritual theme song of the generation. It was the central conviction from which all mounting sermonic zeal took off.

There is one dominant concept energizing the affirmations of our day. It is the concept of inter-dependence, which carries the implied condition of mutuality, both as an existent fact and as a structural necessity. Inter-dependence is the keynote of modern metaphysics. Inter-dependence is the new by-word in the economic world. Inter-dependence is a growing reality in the realm of world politics. And the word inter-dependence is steadily creeping into the language of religion, affecting attitudes concerning relations within Christianity and among the religions of the world. From this concept of inter-dependence there emerges one central ob-

jective: It is the ideal of the *shared life.* This is the social ideal of our age.

The concept *sharedness* needs some definition. It is too easy to use such a word glibly and thus lose its distinctive meaning. Without that distinctive meaning it becomes just another term in the vocabulary of social Christianity. And while it may be said to be an offspring of the *social gospel,* sharedness implies some theoretical distinctions that were not implicit there. Neither is sharedness another synonym for socialism or communism, or of any of the current modified forms of group morality. Yet it is markedly opposed to individualism. Emil Brunner points out in his book, *The Word and The World,* that Christianity and modern civilization emerge out of two essentially opposite concepts. Christianity is the expression of *community;* modern civilization is the outgrowth of individualism and of the ideal of self-sufficiency. Thus, according to this analysis, the age-old antithesis between the individual and the mass reappears in the struggle between Christianity and modern culture. Reinhold Niebuhr, in his penetrating book, *Moral Man and Immoral Society,* makes a similar analysis in distinguishing between the ethical attitudes of privileged classes and those of the proletarian class. Here again we confront the morality of the group as over against the ethics of individuals. Now the perplexing fact about this antithesis between group and individual values is that wherever the one ideal has triumphed over the other, the values of the one have been lost to the order of life organized around the other. The society organized around the concept of the group has always tended to ignore the claims and the identity of the individual, except as he served the group's interests. And the society which enthroned individualism has become notorious for its disregard of the commonwealth. There is ample basis for the protest of the proletarian class. And there is also good grounds for the fears of capitalists when they contemplate a shift in social organization, replacing individualism by some form of socialism.

Sharedness is neither one nor the other; yet it is thoroughly related to both. Sharedness implies neither group domination, nor aggressive individualism. Sharedness implies a correlation of the

recognized values inherent in individualism and in socialism. It presumes to preserve and promote the essential interests of the individual in his relations with the group, while at the same time to so socialize those relations that they will promote the welfare of the group and in no serious way imperil group life. This is no mere theoretical reconciliation. As a point of view, it may issue in a practical reconciliation of the persistent antithesis between the individual and the mass. The very term *shared life* implies mutual consideration and mutual benefit. It is middle ground, but not vacuous and negative. It is a moderation of opposites which results in a new emergent: the enriched communal life of socialized individuals. This distinction does not appear actual and significant until one clearly sees the philosophic ground which divides the individualist from the socialist. They differ, not only in attitude and policy, but fundamentally in their conception of values and in what they designate as the foci around which those values cluster. Thus the resolution of the antithesis involves more than merely socializing the individualist's attitudes on the one hand, or tempering the socialist's group interest on the other. It requires a basic shift in point of value. It demands a social viewpoint that will genuinely estimate the rights and possibilities of individual fulfilment in a social order that is something more than a collection of individuals.

What might be the implications of this social ideal if actualized in our present civilized world? An extensive exposition of this point would border too much on prophecy; but certain probable results might properly be predicted. Industrial leaders as well as proletarian leaders would be impelled to assume a new perspective. Instead of pleading the cause of an individualist society with the accompanying emphasis upon the individual's right to be free to pursue legitimate goals, capitalists would be compelled to see that living *together* in society is something different from living *side by side.* Individual rights would be supplanted by the concept of common opportunities, attainable through mutual sharing. Proletarians, on the other hand, instead of urging a mass-conscious society, would consent to correlation of individual effort in the

interest of individual fulfilment. An economic order that exploits society is not desirable; but neither is an economic structure that sacrifices personal fulfilment for social goals. The shared life, as a social concept, implies correlation of individual aspiration and attainment in the group situation.

World affairs take on a new aspect when viewed from the standpoint of the shared life. Political nationalism is seen to be the counterpart of economic individualism. Communistic internationalism stands out as the corollary of socialism. Neither holds the key to a satisfying world culture. Two facts are important to keep in mind: One is that just as individual personality is an achievement of legitimate worth, so nationalistic culture is an accomplishment too valuable to dissolve through a cosmopolitanism that knows no loyalties. The second is that just as individual personality is not attainable apart from society, so nationalistic culture is not possible in this age of inter-dependence apart from associated endeavor with other nations. The social ideal of sharedness therefore advocates all measures that contribute toward international cooperation, but deplores an internationalism that dissolves nationalistic culture.

The ideal of shared living has been implemented to some extent in a number of current social movements. The concerted reaction against the self-sufficient individualism of capitalism, manifest in religion, philosophy and government as well as in literature and the arts, is a striking symptom of new idealism. More specifically, the ideal of sharedness has been implicit in all recent social and political movements, tending toward an organization of society that will yield maximum security and equitable advantage to the total membership of society. But in all of these movements away from imperialistic and individualistic governments today, at least two dangers threaten. The one is the possibility of swinging from *class* rule to *mass* rule. That, of course, is the peril of communism, and has been continually imminent in Russian Sovietism. The other is the possibility of *Social Messiahs,* who have arisen to champion the interests of the "forgotten man," becoming the focal

point of bureaucratic control, issuing in a dictatorship. That has happened in Italy and Germany, and it must always remain as an ominous shadow in America's present experiment. The concept of sharedness is the steadying ideal which should guide statesmen, thinkers and preachers away from these possible perils and aid them in pushing ahead toward further fulfilment of the ideal of the shared life in the affairs of mankind. On its negative side, this social ideal is a protest against any selfish or partisan exploitation of the social forces that are being unleashed in our reaction against autocracy and individualism. On its positive side it is a gospel of integrity and justice for all who are involved in the perplexing experiments of cultural change and adjustment. It aims toward objective fairness to all classes, whether they be the disinherited masses or the privileged few; which means in particular that it is the corrective of both capitalism and communism and other social movements growing out of class consciousness.

It is my conviction that religion cannot properly embrace or sponsor any present-day social movement, not even socialism, until it is sure that in its ideal and objectives, that movement is purged of prejudices and animosities which issue in an unjust bias and injurious discriminations. The same sort of menace to social justice which has become apparent in the alliance between Capitalism and Protestantism exists as an imminent danger in present tendencies to harness Christianity and Socialism. Religion *has* a social function. That function is to keep social movements *social.* By that I mean, maintaining this wider human reference and perspective; keeping them persistently fair and inclusive in motive and objectives. Religion must maintain the ideal of sharedness as over against committment to any class partisanship.

The implications of this social ideal extend beyond the economic and political fields, into all phases of culture where human relations are involved. It affects relations among all the religions of the world. And applied to relations between Christianity and the other world religions, the ideal of sharedness clearly demands a *new deal.* For it compels all religions to come to a common facing of their common task, which is to encourage and aid men and women to

come to terms with the spiritual demands and possibilities of the universe in which we live. It then demands that each religion become aware of its distinctive function, which is to achieve this spiritual task in terms of the environing culture and traditions which have shaped its mental and emotional pattern of life. Specifically, it decries bigotry, arrogance and monopoly in religion. It calls all world religions to a more humble estimate of itself, and a more objective appraisal of other faiths, recognizing that each religion has developed as an organized medium for implementing aspirations and ideals in the particular cultural setting in which it arose. And for that reason, each religion has the divine function of focusing aspiration within its own cultural domain. The counterpart of that fact is that no religion has the divine right or human prerogative to intrude upon the domain of another, to uproot men from their cultural heritage and *sell* them their partisan gospel on competitive bases. For the point of view back of the ideal of sharedness is that all religions are approximations toward the good life. Each, in its age-long pilgrimage through the centuries, has come upon worthful insight and practices. And, too, each has been victimized by error and provincialism. Consequently, nothing is so urgent, nor could be more helpful to religions and religious people the world over, than for its leaders and devotees to come together periodically for mutual stimulus and correcting of perspectives. In short, proselyting and all forms of religious expansion based upon an assumed monopoly of truth, should give way to an organized effort to share each others' truths and experiences, planned and pursued on ethical and agreed bases. Missions from this standpoint becomes an experiment in religious round tables.

The ideal of sharedness does not tend toward establishing one world religion, for it must be recognized that cultures are too diversified to enable men to worship one way. It pleads, rather, for recognition of the basic, *functional* soundness of all religious cultures, where the motive is to bring men into adjustment with the spiritual demands of their culture and the larger cosmic life affecting their destiny. That does not mean that all religions are alike and of equal value in specific aspects. It means that in relation to the

particular culture which it serves and out of which it has grown, its functional rôle is the same, and its results proportionately important. There are, to be sure, qualitative differences in the objectives they pursue and in the methods they employ. Christianity, in its emphasis upon social idealism and improvement has stressed a phase which eastern religions have woefully neglected. Likewise, Hinduism and Buddhism, in their persistent emphasis upon contemplation and the profound grasp of life correlative with that mood, have delevoped a side of religious living which western Christianity has only too sadly lacked. More than ever, then, these religions should come together to balance their biases and to enrich their emphasis. But the way to supplement each other is not by intruding upon the cultural domain of another religious culture with a view to replacing its effectiveness there. The rightful course is through sharing their insights and passions openly and ethically. Hindus and Buddhists may help Christians to become better mystics. Christians may help them to translate mysticism into practical ideals that will build a better world. And they will add to each others deficiencies, not as proselyters, but as fellow pilgrims in life's age-old quest.

THE INDIAN UNTOUCHABLES

by

STANLEY RICE

IT HAS been said that the Communal Award of the British Government since modified and amplified by the two communities—the Caste and the No-caste—in conference, has opened a new chapter in Indian history. There is some justification for this assertion inasmuch as never before have the casteless people been politically recognized, never before have they been given representation on an equality with the caste Hindus. It is a step—but only a step and not a very long one—in the emancipation of the Untouchables. It is a step comparable in some but not in all respects to the Fifteenth Amendment. Only an American can say how far that Amendment has been carried out in a spirit of goodwill all over the country, but if it be true that there is still opposition or only a grudging acquiescence in it, then the analogy will hold good. That is what will in all probability happen in India. That there will be any great evasion of the franchise law may well be doubted. The representatives will be elected by whatever machinery and subject to whatever conditions may eventually be imposed, because the people are too ignorant or too astute to attach any great value to the vote, and if elections to the Assembly follow the course of elections to local bodies, they will for a long time to come be based upon the simple appeal that "I'm a jolly good fellow."

This being so, it follows that the great masses of the people, who care very little for politics and political machinery but do care a great deal for religions, social and socio-religious customs will be very slow to recognize the Untouchables or to forego any of those restrictions which have become established by the usage of centuries. To some extent the extreme outer works of caste have fallen; it is no longer forbidden to cross the Kala Pani, the Black

Water, a prohibition which for so long made India self-centered. It is—at least in some parts, for it is always dangerous to dogmatize about the whole of India—no longer impossible to meet Indian friends at dinner or lunch or to invite them to a meal served by "pariah" servants. But this is true only of the educated classes and in the main strongholds caste holds its own, especially in the matter of marriage, and if the truth were known, in this very question of Untouchability. No man strove to do more for the Untouchables within his own sphere than the present Maharaja of Boroda; yet even there, where amongst the educated, those outer works of which I have just spoken have disappeared under his influence, very little impression has been made on the villages. Only the other day when for the sake of efficiency and economy it was proposed to amalgamate the caste and the no-caste schools, the caste Hindus in many villages protested on religious grounds.

Untouchability is then vigorous in the villages but the degree of it varies according to geographical distribution. In the North it simply does not exist. In the Madras Province in the South—especially in Malabar on the West Coast which is often unfairly cited as typical of the whole—it is at its strongest. In that Province it is customary for the "Pariahs" to live in separate hamlets called "paracheris" situated about half a mile from the parent village to which they are attached. Caste Hindus will not enter these hamlets and that in a sense was the pariahs' protection. But in the Bombay Province the lowest castes, the Dheds and Bhangis live in the village though in a special quarter of it. But though the degrees of segregation may thus differ, wherever there is Untouchability the same disabilities are to be found. The Outcaste is denied access to the temples and the schools and, worst of all, to the water supply used by the higher castes. It may be doubted whether the actual fact of Untouchability is acutely felt; to a European or an American it may seem almost incredible that human beings can be counted so low that they cannot even be touched by their fellow men, but to the Outcastes themselves, except to the more educated among them who naturally resent the humiliation, there is nothing very dreadful in it. It is a social custom hallowed by the usage of centuries

and long acquiesced in, and is not unlike that social custom which forbids the parlor maid to sit down in your drawing room or prevents your asking the gardener to dinner. But it does lead to a great deal of petty tyranny. It engenders a feeling of contempt which expresses itself in a variety of ways. The Outcaste may be jockeyed out of land which he has acquired by his own thrift and industry and may be prevented from rising in the world by various small acts all arising from the conviction that he is an upstart.

The denial of the temples is no doubt very keenly felt in a country where religion counts for so much as it does in India; the denial of the schools probably less so since in an agricultural population the wants of elementary education is more a political than a popular grievance. But the denial of water, especially when the springs dry up or the wells are low, is a very real hardship. And apart from this, which needs no elaboration, it creates an economic difficulty. The cost of providing wells falls largely upon public funds and in a poor country these are strictly limited. There is many a village where the public water supply has been provided by private charity or perhaps by communal subscription but the outcastes come last or not at all. Public funds are thus called upon to supply two wells instead of one, where both castes and outcastes need them and at least one if the castes are already supplied. The same difficulty applies to school buildings; it is however not felt to the same extent both for the reason already given and also because even large schools for caste boys are still without proper housing and until the more urgent needs are supplied. The question of building outcaste schools remains comparatively dormant.

It must not, however, be supposed that these poor people are uniformly treated with harshness and brutality. Charity takes a high place in the code of Indian ethics, and charity of an organized and individual kind there is in plenty. The outcastes are not the only recipients but they are not without their share. It is moreover a well-established custom that on a day of rejoicing the poor shall be fed, and this is a favorite form of benefaction by the wealthy. One sees these poor creatures seated in rows, clad in rags that are generally none too clean, eagerly holding out skinny hands for their

portion as the server makes his rounds and though not all of them are outcastes, a great many are.

Nevertheless the lot of the outcastes is speaking generally an unhappy one. Individually there are outcastes and outcastes, masters and masters, as there were slaves and slaves, masters and masters, in the time of slavery. The world has grown to look upon slavery with abhorrence; and the world looks upon untouchability as something cruel and inhuman. Quite apart from its consequences, it suggests a humiliation, a degradation, to which no human being should be subjected. It is incompatible with all modern conceptions of the Brotherhood of Man however imperfectly they may be carried into effect. Indians of the educated and advanced classes are beginning to recognize this, and if the inspiration came first from the white Government and the white missionaries, there are now distinct signs that the condition of these unfortunates is receiving more sympathetic attention than hitherto from those who are best able to influence Hindu opinion. Some measure of the advance made is recorded in the latest Report on the Moral and Material Progress of India, which tells us that in Madras, the stronghold of orthodoxy, there were 3054 cooperative societies devoted to the Depressed Classes and that "particularly satisfactory among recent developments has beeen the attention devoted to the education of children of the Depressed Classes" by Municipalities and Local Boards. But political recognition and cooperative activities and municipal efforts do not carry us very far on the long road to emancipation. As long as the spirit of antagonism is in the villages, backed by the powerful support of orthodoxy, which like all orthodoxies is conservative, obstructive and reactionary, so long will the Depressed Classes remain a community apart, theoretically within the Hindu fold but practically without it.

What then was the origin of Untouchability? It is—or was till lately—generally held that caste was a system invented by the Aryans who were anxious to preserve the purity of stock and it may be presumed that untouchibility was a kind of sublimation, or at least later extension of this idea. But there are serious objections to the theory. In general it is safe to assume that in dealing with

such customs of primitive peoples the true explanation must be sought for in religious rites rather than in utilitarian ideas. It is now generally accepted that the Dravidians came into India like every one else through the North-West. It stands to reason that invading conquerors assimilate many of the customs which they find established and while the three earlier Vedas consist of hymns to the Aryan gods and of religious ceremonial, the later Atharva Veda is concerned with magic and incantation which point to Dravidian influence. It is significant that to this day many of the details of the marriage ceremony are taken literally from the Atharva Veda. Moreover the question, as I have said, is most acute in the South and on the South-West Coast where Aryan influence is weakest; and further there seems to be no good reason why any particular class should have been untouchable nor any principle upon which the line was drawn. You can refuse to marry the daughter of A or B, to dine with or accept water from or be socially intimate with either of them, but why can you touch A and not B? The suggestion has been made that the outcastes, being engaged in dirty and disgusting occupations, are unfit for physical contact with others. But that will not do. Very many pariahs in the South are agricultural laborers, an occupation considered honorable, if lowly, everywhere and certainly not disgusting. It is unreasonable to suppose that the whole community was branded because some of them are scavengers or tanners. This utilitarian explanation is foreign both to the history of ancient races and to Indian conceptions. It seems to me far more probable that the whole system of caste was a pre-Aryan idea, taken on, elaborated and perhaps expanded by the Aryans for their own purposes. The notion of ceremonial impurity is very old and Sir James Frazer devotes two chapters of the "Golden Bough" to Tabooed Acts and Tabooed Persons. The word Pariah (paraiyan) is said to be derived from "parai" a drum because pariahs now beat drums at weddings and funerals. But it is far more likely that they now continue to do that which in primitive times they were allowed to do. Not being of the ruling race who were perhaps Dravidian, they were permitted to perform menial acts of worship at temples—beating drums is said to ward off inaus-

picious sounds—but not to enter the temples themselves. If we carry this idea forward into general ceremonial pollution, we soon reach the question of marriage and food and ultimately of physical contact. It is probable that untouchability did not form part of the primitive code. It is not mentioned in any of the Hindu sacred books and it seems to have grown up as an extension of the principle of pollution, carried to its logical extreme. But it is impossible within the limits of a short article to develop this theory to the full. The significance of it lies in the possibility that we are approaching Untouchability from a wrong angle. Considering the enormous importance attached to socio-religious customs of which caste is the chief example, appeals to humanity and denunciations of cruelty have very little effect upon the people, because the individual cannot afford to do what the community rejects. Not only does excommunication entail very practical disabilities, but it is almost impossible to exaggerate the veneration which the people have for caste and their dread of pollution. By comparison any feeling of inhumanity or injustice is negligible. I think therefore that it should be shown that Untouchability has nothing to do with Vedic Hinduism, that it is nowhere enjoined as a part of religion, that it is as foreign to it as the cults of animistic tribes, that it is actually degrading religion and that by perpetuating it India is lowering herself to the level of those same tribes. In short the idea would be to approach the villages upon the lines of religion instead of upon the lines of ethics, for, as I said before, until the spirit is exorcised from the villages, very little progress will be made and that too of a somewhat lifeless and mechanical kind.

No one will grudge the Depressed Classes their political emancipation or their proper place in the country. But the enthusiasts must not let their enthusiasm run away with them. If it be true, as some have predicted, that India will some day have to reckon with a new force, care must be taken that the new creation does not develop into a Frankenstein. The results of emancipation hastily and overzealously undertaken, of a people who have heretofore been unduly depressed are constantly repeated in history. The outcastes of India—the Untouchables, the Depressed Classes,—

call them what you will—are beginning to be aware that they have rights as men and as citizens, and they are the largest minority in India after the Mussulmans. There is a danger in applying to India the democratic canon of counting heads without reference to quality of brains. Considering the numbers of these low—of outcastes—some 35 to 50 millions according to various criteria of classification—such claims, aided by dissensions in other communities, might well lead to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. If it be said that that is fantastic, I retort that things more fantastic have happened in history. For it is only natural, as experience has shown, that ambition will o'erleap itself and it is for Indians by wise concession and Englishmen by wise counsel to see that they take their proper place—neither more nor less—in the body politic.

THE RACIAL FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

by

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EXCESSIVE preoccupation with the political history of the world during the last few centuries is apt to obscure one's true historical perspective with regard to the destiny of mankind. Looking at the gradual proliferation of European domination over the entire globe, particularly during the nineteenth century, it is natural to arrive at the conclusion that this is the final verdict of history; that this must always be so. The facile division of the human race into "white" and "colored" with the tacit assumption that the "white" race must always be in the ascendant clearly demonstrates that this danger is not a pure fiction of fancy. If one casts one's mind back sufficiently far and looks at the kaleidoscopic changes in history, one is struck by the fact that practically all races of the world, irrespective of color, have dominated other races and have been dominated by them in their turn. The true view of European domination over non-European races would thus be to look upon it as a temporary historical phase, as temporary as the Roman empire, the Moorish conquest of Spain, Mongol invasions of the Western world or the vanished glories of the Spanish empire. Aryans, Mongols, Semites, all have had their day. Indeed, we see before our very eyes vast changes taking place all over the world. The "menace of color" is not so much a menace as a challenge of the bulk of humanity against the political and economic hegemony of a minority of the European races.

Faced with these developments, imperialism is no longer content with direct exploitation of the politically weaker races of the world. It seeks to build its edifice on the solid foundations of

science. Anthropology, psychology and latterly, eugenics, have all been laid under contribution. Clearly in so far as they affect public policy, the pursuit of science is quite secondary to their purpose. Thus, although it is usual to set up a cleavage between the "white" and the "colored" races, it is found that there is as little in common between the "white" races themselves as between those who are classed under the latter omnibus designation. It is well known that the immigration policy of the U.S.A. and Australia is only a shade less discriminating against the Southern or Eastern Europeans than against the Orientals. Professor Griffith Taylor has gone so far as to assert that the Mediterranean races are definitely inferior to the Mongols. In practice, therefore, the scientific generalizations on the superiority of the "white" races are nothing more nor less than an elaborate apologia for the Anglo-Saxons—namely, that the present supremacy they have over non-European races is both justified in fact and in theory.

Briefly speaking, the race theory has taken as many forms as there are races in the world. Thus, at the one end where the European races have been thrown together, as in the United States and Africa, with the Negroes, it has undergone its most monstrous evolution. Miscegenation, which is well-nigh inevitable where two races co-exist, is worse than a crime in these countries, although in both it is the dominant races who were initially at fault. Nevertheless, the process continues. In America, according to some authorities, the racial dilution is taking place on such a vast scale through marriages of "whites" and "near whites" thaat any prediction with regard to the racial future of the country is premature. Nor is the verdict of science on mixed marriages between the "blacks" and the "whites" unequivocal. Some of the outstanding Negroes of America, like Booker T. Washington and Dubois, are of mixed origin. Indeed, there is a large volume of opinion to show that in most cases the unfortunate results of such marriages are due more to social disadvantages than to differences of race. Nurture rather than nature is at the root of the evil. In Australia, for instance, it is said that marriages between Chinese and Australians have been happy and successful, and children of such marriages are "healthier

and better cared for than the white children in the same evironment with similar white mothers." Professor J. W. Gregory has joined issue with this statement, but his objection may not be primarily eugenic, because almost immediately he adds that "the admission of Asiatics to Australia is unnecessary for the development of tropical regions, for . . . . there is nothing in climate to prevent the development of tropical lands by white labor." It is not improbable that a similar motive underlies the following remark. Professor Gregory writes: "Until my first walk through one of the crowded streets in the poorer districts of Calcutta, I had not realized the truth of the classification of the Bangali as Mongolo-Dravidian. I then noted with surprise the strength of the Mongolian element, which explains why the people, whom Sir Frank Younghusband aptly describes as 'the supple, quick, affectionate Bengalis,' although of remarkable intellectual capacity are of unusual mental variability and instability."* It is curious that he should on the same page classify the Eurasians as Aryans. "The objection to inter-racial inter-marriage . . . . does not apply to that of many people of different cultures, and even color. . . . The Eurasian is the offspring of members of the same race." To assert that the Eurasian, whose parent on the Indian side may belong to any one of the ethnic groups composing India, which are themselves mixed, is racially pure, obviously belongs to the same order of scientific value as to call a particular race mentally variable and unstable and to account for it by its racial make-up. When, however, one turns to regions where the possibility of mass admixture with Europeans is non-existent, the argument takes its stand on grounds which are either fictitious or intangible. One of the popular misconceptions is that Asia is breeding faster than Europe; that the human reservoir called Asia will presently burst and submerge Europe in a devastating flood of color. But, as Mr. H. G. Wells says: "India and China are no doubt going forward in the population race, but the European and American communities are still going forward much faster."

The propagandist now shifts his ground and takes refuge behind such qualities as individual enterprise and initiative, which he

*I remember once having a discussion with a distinguished Professor of a well known British University, who similarly characterized the Irish.

claims as pre-eminently European, but the emergence of Japan as a successful military and industrial nation within the short space of fifty years has clearly demonstrated that such virtues are by no means a European monopoly. Professor Gregory is probably not aware of the contradiction when he concedes that "in ability the European is not probably superior to members of other races who have had an equal training and opportunity." Be that as it may, there is little doubt that no finality can be claimed for the eugenic argument. Apart altogether from its recent origin, the study of racial biology has hardly been carried out under conditions which make for complete objectivity.

Lothropp Stoddard writes: "We whites will have to abandon our tacit assumption of permanent domination over Asia, while Asiatics will have to forgo their dream of migration to white lands and penetration of Africa or Latin America."

This puts in a nutshell the prime motive behind racial antagonism, which in the last analysis is not really a conflict between white and colored races, but between all races whenever and wherever they compete for their livelihood, for according to the same author, "even within the white world, migration of lower human types, like those which have worked such havoc in the United States must be curtailed." The political motive, the eugenic motive, are both subordinate to the economic motive. The exclusion of Asiatics from North America, Australia, and South Africa, the disfranchisement of the Negroes in the Southern States of U. S. A., the political domination of Europe over Asia are all links in the same chain of argument. "In South Africa the black is so far from being inferior to the white that the Kaffir is debarred from education, skilled trades and various professions, to protect the white from his competition." The lesson of Indian emigration to South Africa is similar. How apparent friendliness can be turned into bitter enmity from economic motive is shown nowhere better than in the Northern States of U. S. A. since the Negroes began to drift from the South to the industrial North on account of labor shortage during the War. "The entry of so many Negroes into the Northern labor market aroused jealousy and alarm among the white workers." The

history of the anti-Chinese, anti-Japanese and anti-Indian feeling on the Western coast of America is the same. They were welcome as long as they were needed for the opening up of the Pacific region and dispensed with as soon as they were found superfluous or too dangerous as rivals. The quota system applied to European immigrants point in the same direction. "The result is," says M. André Siegfried, "that according to the 1924 law the annual contingent can consist of only 13.3 per cent Latins and Slavs as against 86.6 per cent Nordics. Out of 165,000 allowed each year, the Anglo-Irish can send 62,000, the Germans 51,000, but the Italians only 3,845, and the Russians only 2,248." Despite the outstanding contributions of the Jews to European culture, anti-Semitism is more or less latent throughout Europe, and has lately burst into savage flames in Hitlerite Germany. It is well known that it derives its main strength from economic jealousy. Nor is this entirely a European or American phenomenon. The economic motive which brought Japan to the mainland of Asia has led, as sure as night follows day, to the civilizing pretensions of Japan and its corollary, the race cult. The Asiatic "Monroe Doctrine" desired by Japan may never be realized, but it indicates which way the wind blows.

Obviously, then, the so-called race theory has grown out of economic and consequently political necessities. Science is being prostituted for shaping public opinion at home as well as for forging fresh chains for those who are the victims of this insidious propaganda. The psychological weapon becomes indespensable to the economic and political armory. It can be used both as a method of offence and of defence. The quite temporary ascendency, historically speaking, of Europe over the rest of the world is raised to the status of a biological theory, which while speaking for the white race only registers a subtle claim for the Nordics. It is a theory, which is inwardly inconsistent, for while it speaks of racial superiority of the Northern races, it degenerates into staking economic claims for them over certain regions of the earth. It is inwardly uncertain, for its basic motive is fear, fear of those races who may yet play the historical roles that they played in the past. Mr. Wells says: "They had no sense of the transferability of science and its

fruits. They did not realize that Chinamen and Indians could carry on the work of research as ably as Frenchmen and Englishmen." The biological argument thus raises issues which are as shallow as they are pernicious, because they not only divide humanity into warring camps, but side-track the one and the only relevant issue namely, the economic motive which lies behind all race conflicts, between one white race and another, between one yellow race and another and between all races. The pursuit of false gods only postpones the day when humanity will live at peace.

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WORLD ADVANCE
A Monthly International Review
by
OSCAR NEWFANG
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Fair Terms of International Competition

THE recent trade war between Japan and England for the cotton trade of India is a typical example of the international friction caused by unfair terms of international competition. Britain rightly complains that the excessively long hours of labor through which Japan allows her industrialists to exploit her working classes, together with the employment of women and children at wages below the minimum of decent subsistence, constitute unfair methods of competition for the cotton piece goods business long enjoyed by Lancashire in that vast Oriental market; and since Britain controls the legislative policies of India, she met these unfair terms of international competition by restricting imports from Japan to a figure not much more than five per cent of the volume that the Japanese business had recently reached. Japan, on her part, contends that the destruction of the trade of a friendly nation in one of her principal markets by means of the political control exercised over that market by her competitor constitutes an unfair method of competition, and she strongly resents the quota limitation. The controversy has produced considerable friction and ill-will in both England and Japan.

Some of the Methods of Unfair Competition

A second method of unfair international competition which has in post-war years produced friction and aroused resentment in many of the countries of Europe and also in the United States

is the policy of selling commodities in foreign countries below the cost of production or below the prices prevailing in the home country. This is the so-called policy of dumping. There was a general outcry in all the agricultural countries of Europe and also in the United States against Soviet Russia because of her policy of selling wheat in the markets of Europe for any price that it would bring, so as to create the foreign exchange which she was forced to obtain in order to avoid default on her foreign obligations for machinery, etc., in connection with her five-year plan. It was contended that Russian agricultural labor under the communist system is practically forced labor, and further because the Russian government controlled all export and import business of the country, the trading authorities of that country were in a position to dump wheat abroad at unfairly low prices, and if necessary make up the loss by raising domestic prices or through profits in other lines of agriculture or industry. Although it was impossible to obtain any definite figures to prove the contention, the feeling was very general in Europe and America that the Soviet government was in a position to employ the same unfair methods of international competition that a great trust uses when it sells in a certain market at a loss for the purpose of driving competitors in that market out of business, while it recoups its losses by charging high prices in the markets in which it has no competition.

A third method of unfair competition which is bound sooner or later to arouse the resentment of competing nations is the American practice of subsidizing certain agricultural products by means of processing taxes. The proceeds of these taxes are distributed among the growers, and they amount practically to an export bounty which enables the American farmers to compete unfairly in the open world markets. In this respect the operation of American processing taxes will be very likely to arouse the resentment of the cotton growers of Egypt and India and the wheat growers of Southeastern Europe.

In another respect, however, these processing taxes may well cause friction with the British and Continental buyers of American cotton and wheat. The distribution of the proceeds of the proces-

sing taxes is conditional upon the agreement of the growers to restrict their acreage and their production, and thus to create an artificial scarcity of cotton and wheat, in order to raise their world prices to scarcity levels. Whether this planned result will actually follow, or whether the void caused by American restriction will merely enable growers in other countries to increase their production and sales, is still uncertain; but if the intended purpose of the plan to create scarcity prices for these staple commodities is realized, considerable resentment will be caused in British and Continental centers. Americans will still remember the outburst of indignation with which they greeted the Stevenson Plan for the artificial curtailment of rubber exports, which resulted in temporarily raising the price of crude rubber to a dollar a pound. The policy was angrily characterized as a monopolistic and unfair method of extorting scarcity prices from the American rubber manufacturers who consumed by far the largest part of the rubber output of the world.

The Policy of Reciprocal or Bargaining Tariffs

These unfair methods of international competition will receive the severest scrutiny and criticism as soon as the new American policy of reciprocal or bargaining tariffs is substituted for the present policy of indiscriminating high or prohibitive tariffs. The Roosevelt administration has recognized that the only way to rebuild the foreign trade so necessary for recovery, especially for a nation that is a large creditor on financial transactions, is by moderating tariff levels to an extent that will admit of payment for exports by an equivalent amount of imports. It is the idea of the administration, upon receiving the authority which it has requested for tariff bargaining, to make a study of American industries with a view to determining which of them are un-economic and could therefore be properly sacrificed for more cheaply produced imports in exchange for the export of commodities in which this country excels; as, for example, automobiles, business machines, farm machinery, etc.

These tariff bargains will doubtless be hailed with delight by the industries whose exports are thereby increased; but, as Sec-

retary Wallace has admitted, there will be "a continuous howl" from the industries which are being sacrificed in the process. It will most certainly be strongly urged by the industries whose present tariff protection is reduced, that they are thus compelled to compete against the unfair methods of the excessive hours of labor, the starvation wage levels and the brutal exploitation of the labor of women and children prevailing in foreign countries. They will doubtless insist that it is unfair to expect them to compete with the forced labor of Russia, whose wages are at the mercy of the governing class of that country; or with the dominated labor of Germany and Italy, where wages are dictated to the workers under an absolute prohibition of the right of labor to strike.

Certain Harmful Illusions Regarding International Trade

Before attempting to point a way out of this dilemma it is necessary to say a few words regarding certain harmful illusions as to international trade which are generally prevalent and which make the establishment of fair and mutually satisfactory terms of international competition difficult of attainment. The first of these illusions is, that international trade depends upon the absolute difference in prices between two trading countries; from which the conclusion is drawn, that a country with a high price level can sell nothing to a country with a low price level, while the latter can sell any of its products in the former country unless prevented by a high tariff. The truth is, that international trade depends, not upon absolute prices but upon relative prices. Even though the general or average level of prices of one country is twice that of another, if the relative cost of commodities in the two countries is different, trade between the two countries is possible. For instance, if in the one country wheat and corn have the same cost of production, while in the other the cost of production of wheat is twice that of corn, a profitable exchange can be made of the wheat of the one country for the corn of the other, regardless of absolute prices in either country. Figures will make this clear. Let us suppose that wheat and corn in the one country each have a cost of production of $1.00 per bushel. In another country with a lower price level the cost of pro-

duction of wheat might be $.50 and the cost of production of corn $.25. If the first country ships a million bushels of wheat to the second, it will indeed realize only $500,000 as against $1,000,000 at home; but if the proceeds of the wheat sale are brought back in corn, 2,000,000 bushels of corn will be imported, which will sell for $2,000,000 in the first country. This trade would, of course, give all the profit to the first country. But even if the profit were divided between the two countries by selling the million bushels of wheat for $.30 a bushel, by which the foreign trader paying for this wheat with corn at $.25 a bushel would gain twenty cents a bushel or $200,000; the first country would still import 1,200,000 bushels of corn at a profit of $200,000.

A second illusion regarding international trade which makes it difficult to establish fair terms of international competition is, that a high level of prices and wages is more desirable for a country than a low level. The truth is that it is entirely immaterial for the general welfare whether the level of prices and wages is high or low, provided the relation between prices and wages is constant. A worker or a merchant is not a bit better off with high wages or high prices, if his necessary expenses or his purchasing costs are equally high. If the worker's rent, food, clothing, etc., costs $100. a month, he is no better off with a wage of $100. a month than he would be with a wage of $50. a month, if the same rent, food, clothing, etc., cost only $50.

The persistent general belief that a high price and wage level in a country is desirable leads to a third harmful illusion, that it is detrimental to permit specie to go out, because a plentiful supply of money results in high prices and wages, while a scarcity of money produces a low level of prices and wages. Since, however, the price and wage level of a country have no effect upon the welfare of the people, provided the relation between prices and wages is not changed; it follows that, when specie is the cheapest commodity in a country, that is when the country's price level is higher than that of other countries, it is to the country's advantage to export this commodity and import other commodities whose relative prices in other countries are lower than those at home. This is not only

good business from the standpoint of immediate profit, but it also has the very desirable effect of gradually equalizing price and wage levels in the various countries and thus increasing the ease and volume of trade between them. The harmful results of an excess of specie in some countries and a deficiency of it in others is evident at this time from the stringent restrictions upon imports made necessary in Germany because of her extremely small coverage of only 3.7% of specie against her outstanding currency. This scarcity of specie has practically destroyed the bulk of trade between other countries and Germany. In contrast with this small coverage the United States has a coverage of over 80%; and France, of over 90%. It would evidently be to the advantage of these countries to export specie to Germany in exchange for other commodities, in order more nearly to equalize the coverage of currencies and make a freer and larger volume of trade possible. The same thing holds good for England, whose specie coverage is extremely small compared with those of America and France. The collapse of a nation's currency affects not only the economic life of that country, but that of all countries, as the world has been painfully learning in these last few years, when one country after another has been forced off the gold standard, and its depreciated currency has caused violent disturbances in all world trade.

Establishing Fair Terms of International Competition

There are two principal fields in which fair terms of international competition should be established by agreement among the nations. The first is an agreement regarding maximum hours of labor and hours of machine operation, and the second is an agreement to allow the free and unhampered distribution of specie in accordance with the needs of world trade. In the United States the government has permitted a majority of each industry, meeting in a representative trade association, to frame a code covering maximum hours and minimum wages for that industry; and the government undertakes to enforce compliance with this code of fair competition by a recalcitrant minority. Something of the same kind could possibly be achieved through

the International Chamber of Commerce, with the cooperation of the governments represented in the League of Nations. International associations representing each industry could have their representatives meet through the International Chamber of Commerce and formulate codes of fair international competition covering hours and wages for such industry throughout the world, which codes could be enforced against a cut-throat minority by the associated governments of the League of Nations.

The removal of exchange and specie restrictions throughout the world would have to be attained through the League of Nations also. If this could be done, the free and unhampered distribution of specie would in time produce a world-level of prices and wages which would be far more stable than any national level, and would consequently afford a far better basis for the stabilization of business and the reduction of the swings of boom and depression which are so harmful to the economic life of every nation.

Not only would these approaches to a true world economy have these beneficial economic results in all countries, but they would also contribute to the removal of the international friction resulting from unfair methods of competition among nations; they would greatly increase world trade and prosperity, and they would contribute in large measure to world peace and world unity

BOOK NOTES

by

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Public Opinion and World Politics, Edited by Quincy Wright. The University of Chicago Press, 1933. *Pp. xiii,* 237. $3.00. Since the summer of 1924 annual Institute of the Harris Foundation lectures have been at the University of Chicago. The resulting publications have been of great importance and the present work especially so. Here we have a discussion of "Public Opinion as a Factor in Government" by John W. Defoe, Managing Editor of the "Winnipeg Free Press;" "The Molders of Public Opinion" by Jules Auguste Sauerwein, foreign editor of "Paris-Soir"; "The Methods of Political Propaganda" by Edgar Stern-Rubarth, editor-in-chief of the Wolff Telegraphic Bureau in Berlin; "World War Propaganda" by Ralph Haswell Lutz, Professor of History and Director of the famous Hoover War Library in Stanford University; and "The Strategy of Revolutionary and War Propaganda" by Harold Dwight Lasswell, Associate Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago. As a collection of lectures the treatment is bound to be uneven in spots; but it is marked by excellent phrasing and makes easy reading. Every man contributing here is well-known in his field. We enjoyed particularly the points raised by Professor Lutz regarding world war propaganda in America and Europe. Strange to say, there are not many suggestive conclusions offered in this excellent book.

Force in Peace. By Albert E. Hindmarsh. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933. *Pp. xii,* 249. Dr. Hindmarsh, Assistant Dean of Harvard College and Instructor and Tutor in the Department of Government, Harvard University, shows in this scholarly book how measures short of war have been used in inter-

national relations. It shows that the efforts thus far made have not put an end to armed conflict among states. An analysis is made of force and international law, non-coercive methods of adjusting international differences, private and state use of force in time of peace, and coercion and the League of Nations. The conclusions of the author are significant: "International peace requires a surer foundation, a foundation more nearly in accord with the facts of state existence and with the need of a new era in the evolution of international society" (p. 180). The work is technical and the circle of its readers will be limited. But the scholars interested in this field will find it worthwhile.

The First World War. A Photographic History. Edited with captions and an introduction by Laurence Stallings. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1933. *Pp.* 297. $3.50. Fifteen years ago the most expensive sport of mankind, the World War, came to an end—legally. The effects of it still haunt us today in the form of war debts, soldier's bonus bills, world disorganization, etc., etc. A war on the subject of war is still going on in various books. The present work is one of the most instructive of them all. It is a best-seller, and justly so. A collection of 513 photographs, gathered from far and wide, and arranged chronologically and ironically by Stallings, who himself lost a leg as a marine and wrote upon his return, "What Price Glory," it is the best compilation that has appeared in the last five years. Ernst Friedrich started this practice with his "Kreig dem Kreig." In 1930 the International Federation of Trade Unions reprinted fifty pages of his book as a thirty-five cent pamphlet entitled "No More War," with captions in six languages. Then, two years later, came that excellent work of Frederick A. Barber, "The Horror of It," with forewords by Harry Emerson Fosdick and Carrie Chapman Catt, and poems from "The Red Harvest" by the Rev. Vincent G. Burns, a Penn State alumnus. Photographs of the best type to illustrate could not be secured—for patriotic reasons. Now Stallings has peaked such efforts with his chronological and pictorial record, which starts with the photographs of the Archduke Ferdinand's bloody tunic and ends with the photographs of Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini and Kemal Pasha in

this world of ours "made safe for democracy." Nothing is more effective than a pictorial reproduction of what war really is. Made the more vivid by the sarcasm of Stallings, this is a book which should be read by everyone.

The League of Nations and the Recognition of States. By Malbone W. Graham. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1933. *Pp.* 79. $0.75.

The Interpretation of Treaties by Judicial Tribunals. By Yi-Ting Chang. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. *Pp.* 196. $2.75.

The Termination of Multipartite Treaties. By Harold J. Tobin. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. *Pp.* 321. $4.00.

Each of these three excellent volumes is concerned in one form or another with the legal aspects of international relations, as is evident from the titles. Professor Graham of the University of Los Angeles now increases his reputation, already established with his two volumes on the governments and politics of Central and Eastern Europe. Dr. Chang has tried to analyze cases involving treaty interpretations handed down by international and national tribunals, and to summarize judicial experience in that field in a form convenient for reference. His conclusion is that "the function of the interpreter is simply to discover and ascertain, with the aid of various sources of evidence, the sense in which the contracting parties actually employed particular terms in a treaty" (p. 182). Professor Tobin, who is now Professor of Government in Dartmouth College, is one of the most popular lecturers on international problems, and holds a distinguished record as a former Carnegie Fellow in International Law, sometime Cutting Fellow in Columbia University, and Licencié en sciences sociales, University of Lausanne. He studies a question which is quite important, because the need for revising the Peace Treaties of 1919-1920 is becoming increasingly acute. With the problems involved in the termination of such general international agreements, Dr. Tobin deals. According to him, "Article XIX of the Covenant of the League, which was intended to aid the process of revision and termination of treaties by peaceful means, has only conjectural possibilities." (P.

289). Indeed, the question is still mostly unsettled. There is therefore a distinct need for the scholarly book provided for use by Dr. Tobin. Taken all in all, he, Dr. Chang and Dr. Graham, show their scholarly abilities at their best.

The Experiment with Democracy in Central Europe. By Arnold J. Zurcher. New York: Oxford University Press, 1933. *Pp.* 328. $2.50. Germany's brutal methods of making the world safe for nationalism and anti-Semitism have won it a conspicuous place on the front pages of our newspapers. The earlier breakdown of democratic machinery in Poland, Lithnia and Yugoslavia testifies to the fact that, as a counter-democratic movement, this is not an isolated phenomenon.

Professor Zurcher of New York University contributes a study of "a comparative survey of the operation of democratic government in post-war Germany and in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Succession States." On the basis of wide and extensive reading he has produced a text which, in spite of his inability to visit the countries concerned, includes the author's observations and reflections shot through with a disarming suavity and maturity of judgment. True, the field covered is limited mostly to political conditions, but in spite of this, the volume is the best of its kind within its sphere, in English language, today.

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